2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nyu dey cuen*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither
304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be
[881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal
[565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here
[683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two
881 or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man
[305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer
881 to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go
• 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man.
[561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty agrees that in the neighbourhood of Duleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 REARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

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Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

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is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

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The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Agu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Nwonilo* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of *Nyikang* or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

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When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

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— The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (jumę̄ ya pi̱ñ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukę̄).

People who are of the same age are called (tiji̱ṅ ayą̄j). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (ti̱nę̄ atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *bwing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs.

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke.

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luaks* in which they have passed the night, safe from

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

[554] Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [224] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 [361] At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] 512 [415] 482 Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 [101] [221] [883] Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] 614 631 Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 182 721 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It